

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SS-15 SSO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00

PRS-01 INR-07 INRE-00 EUR-12 /051 W

----- 108837

O 031300Z NOV 75 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8804

INFO USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 TEL AVIV 6938

USIA FOR IPS, IBS

E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: PROPOSED TEXT OF AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH TO TEL AVIV ROTARY CLUB

1. FOLLOWING IS THE SUGGESTED TEXT OF THE SPEECH AMBASSADOR TOON HAS LONG BEEN COMMITTED TO MAKE ATTHE TEL AVIV ROTARY CLUB NOV 6. IF THE DEPT HAS ANY COMMENTS OR SUGGESTIONS WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING BY COB WEDNESDAY, NOV 5. TITLE OF SPEECH IS "THE WORLD WE WANT TO LIVE IN".

2. BEGIN TEXT. CHARLES DICKENS DESCRIBED A COUNTRY AND A WORLD IN A TIME OF TURMOIL AND TRANSITION IN HIS NOVEL , "A TALE OF TWO CITIES". DICKENS BEGAN HIS NOVEL BY STATING THAT: "IT WAS THE BEST OF TIMES, IT WAS THE WORST OF TIMES".

3. IT IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE THAT SOME FUTURE HISTORIAN WILL DESCRIBE OUR WORLD OF TODAY IN IDENTICAL TERMS. AND HE WOULD NOT BE FAR FROM WRONG.

4. THE GOAL OF MOST OF MANKIND IS PEACE. WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS TOWARD THIS GOAL. FOR OVER THIRTY YEARS, WE HAVE MANAGED TO AVOID A WORLD CONFLAGRATION--SUCH AS WE HAVE TWICE BEFORE IN THIS CENTURY. YET OVER MUCH OF THE WORLD WE HAVE LITTLE REAL PEACE.

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5. RECENTLY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS ESTIMATED THAT IN WORLD TECHNICALLY

AT PEACE AS MANY AS 20,000 PERSONS HAVE BEEN KILLED IN THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1975. THESE 20,000 DIED IN SHOOTING CONFLICTS IN EUROPE, AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, SOUTH AMERICA AND ASIA.

6. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS ESTIMATE IS CONSERVATIVE. THEIR FIGURE INCLUDES SOME 10,000 PERSONS KILLED IN ANGOLA, WHERE THREE RIVAL BLACK GROUPS ARE FIGHTING FOR CONTROL AS THE PORTUGUESE PREPARE TO WITHDRAW. NEARLY 600 PERSONS HAVE DIED IN ARGENTINA IN GUERRILLA ATTACKS, BOMBINGS, SHOOTINGS, AND ASSASSINATIONS. ADD ANOTHER 10,000 OR MORE KILLED IN THE ERITREA PROVINCE OF ETHIOPIA. AUTHORITIES SAY AS MANY AS 6,000 HAVE DIED IN BEIRUT AS A DIRECT RESULT OF CLASHES BETWEEN PRIVATE ARMIES OF CHRISTIANS AND MOSLEMS SINCE APRIL.

7. MORE THAN 20,000 DEATHS. IN A WORLD AT PEACE.

8. WE COULD--WITH CONSIDERABLE COMPLACENCY AND CALLOUSNESS--LOOK UPON THESE GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES AS "LITTLE WARS, INVOLVING ONLY ONE COUNTRY, OR AT MOST ONE REGION OF THE WORLD.

9. WE COULD--WITH SOME COMPLACENCY AND CALLOUSNESS--PRETEND THESE "LITTLE WARS" MEAN NO DANGER TO US.

10. WE COULD--WITH COMPLACENCY AND CALLOUSNESS--IGNORE THE POSSIBILITY THAT ALMOST ANY ONE OF THESE CONFRONTATIONS COULD TRIGGER THE WORLD HOLOCAUST WE MUST ALL STRIVE TO AVOID.

11. BUT IF WE DID ANY OF THESE THINGS, WE WOULD ERR GRAVELY. WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT SMALL WARS, EVEN IF THEY ARE FAR FROM OUR SHORES AND DON'T INVOLVE US DIRECTLY, HAVE A REAL BEARING ON WHETHER THE FUTURE OF MANKIND WILL BE PEACEFUL OR NOT.

12. IF THE WORLD WE SEEK IS A WORLD AT PEACE, WHAT MUST WE DO?

13. FOR THE UNITED STATES, THIS QUESTION HAS FACED EACH ONE OF OUR AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS SINCE THE PRESIDENCY OF HARRY TRUMAN. THE HOT WAR OF 1939-45 MERGED INTO THE COLD WAR OF THE 1950'S AND 1960'S. AS LATE AS THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION, IN THE EARLY 1960'S THERE WAS A DANGEROUS CONFRONTATION OVER BERLIN BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. IN THE SAME PERIOD THERE WAS AN EquALLY DANGEROUS UNCLASSIFIED

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CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION OVER MISSILES IN CUBA. AND THERE WERE OTHER CONFRONTATION POINTS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD--SOME OF WHICH WERE CLOSE TO YOU AND IMPINGED ON YOUR OWN VITAL INTERESTS AND WELL-BEING.

14. FORTUNATELY, SOMEONE--OR BOTH SIDES--GAVE WAY AT EACH OF THESE POINTS. BUT THE RISK HAS BEEN TOO GREAT. WHEN THE DECISION ON PEACE OR WAR INVOLVES THE SURVIVAL OF TENS OF MILLIONS OF

PEOPLE, THEN THERE IS NO ROOM FOR PLAYING POWER POLITICS IN THE TRADITIONAL SENSE. FOR THIS REASON, EVERY AMERICAN PRESIDENT IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD--NO MATTER HOW DIFFERENT HIS BACKGROUND, NO MATTER WHAT HIS PARTY--HAS SOONER OR LATER BEEN DRIVEN TO MAKING THE PROBLEM OF PEACE THE CENTRAL PREOCCUPATION OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SS-15 SSO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00

PRS-01 INR-07 INRE-00 EUR-12 /051 W

----- 109242

O 031300Z NOV 75 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8805

INFO USIA WASHDC

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15. THERE IS NO OTHER WAY, FOR IT IS THE HEIGHT OF IRRESPONSIBILITY TO SEEK CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE MAJOR POWERS WHERE THE ULTIMATE DECISION MIGHT INVOLVE RESORT TO NUCLEAR WARFARE.

16. THEREFORE, THE UNITED STATES HAS SOUGHT SYSTEMATICALLY--WITH ALL STATES BUT ABOVE ALL WITH THE SOVIET UNION--TO IMPROVE POLITICAL RELATIONS, TO INCREASE TRADE RELATIONS, TO LIMIT THE WEAPONRY OF WAR.

17. WE HAVE TRIED TO PRODUCE A MAXIMUM NUMBER OF LINKS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. WE HAVE TRIED TO CREATE A COOPERATIVE ENVIRONMENT TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF WAR. WE HAVE TRIED TO BUILD A POLICY OF RELAXING TENSION IN THE WORLD AND THUS OF ELIMINATING OR AT LEAST REDUCING THE DANGER OF CONFRONTATION. THIS POLICY HAS COME TO BE KNOWN AS THE POLICY OF DETENTE.

18. YET, FOR MANY PERSONS, "DETENTE" HAS BECOME A BAD WORD.

19. AS SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS NOTED, "THE PROBLEM OF DETENTE HAS

TOO OFTEN BEEN PUT AS IF THE UNITED STATES WERE MAKING CONCESSIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE PEACE".

20. TO SOME, DETENTE HAS COME TO MEAN SOMETHING THAT WE GRANT THE RUSSIANS AS A SPECIAL FAVOR--OR WITHHOLD AS A PUNISHMENT. TO UNCLASSIFIED

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OTHERS, WHO DISPARAGE THE UTILITY OF CONFRONTATION WITH THE SOVIETS, THE POLICY IS SEEN AS A COVER OF NAIVE AMERICANS WHO ARE PRONE TO GIVE MORE THAN THEY RECEIVE FROM THE OTHER SIDE.

21. AS PRESIDENT FORD HAS POINTED OUT, DETENTE MEANS NONE OF THESE THINGS. DETENTE MEANS AN "EASING" OR A RELAXING" OF TENSIONS. DETENTE DOES NOT MEAN THE RELAXING OF VIGILANCE OR THE EASING OF EFFORT. IT DOES MEAN MOVEMENT AWAY FROM THE CONSTANT CRISIES AND DANGEROUS CONFRONTATIONS THAT WERE THE HALLMARK OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE DECADES OF THE FIFTIES AND THE SIXTIES.

22. DETENTE MEANS A STRONG DESIRE FOR PEACE. IT DOES NOT MEAN PEACE AT ANY PRICE.

23. DETENTE MEANS MAINTAINING THE STRENGTH TO COMMAND RESPECT FROM OUR ADVERSARIES AND TO PROVIDE SECURITY FOR OURSELVES AND OUR FRIENDS. IT DOES NOT MEAN LETTING DOWN OUR GUARD OR DISMANTLING OUR DEFENSES OR NEGLECTING OUR ALLIES.

24. DETENTE MEANS PEACEFUL RIVALRY BETWEEN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS. IT DOES NOT MEAN THE CURBING OF PEACEFUL, COMPETITIVE EFFORT.

25. ABOVE ALL, DETENTE DOES NOT MEAN ABANDONING IDEALS OR FRIENDS.

26. OUR REPRESENTATIVES AT THE UNITED NATIONS, OUR REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS HAVE SPOKEN OUT AGAINST SLURS ON ZIONISM. WE CONTINUE TO TAKE REFUGEES FROM DICTATORIAL REGIMES. WE CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR THE RIGHTS OF OPPRESSED MINORITIES WITHIN THE COMMUNIST NATIONS.

27. AND--AS PRESIDENT FORD AS NOTED--DETENTE SHOULD NOT APPLY ONLY TO TWO MAJOR POWERS. CERTAINLY THE FRENCH LANGUAGE DID NOT SUPPLY THIS TERM TO APPLY ONLY TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. DETENTE SHOULD BE UNIVERSAL IN ITS APPLICATION; IT SHOULD APPLY TO ALL POWERS, TO ALL AREAS--INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST.

28. WE ARE VITALLY INTERESTED IN THE EASING OF TENSIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. FOR MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS ISSUES IN DISPUTE IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE BEEN RECOGNIZED BY SUCCESSIVE AMERICAN UNCLASSIFIED

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ADMINISTRATIONS AS HAVING PROFOUND CONSEQUENCES FOR AMERICA'S OWN VITAL INTERESTS.

29. OUR PRESIDENT, OUR SECRETARY OF STATE, AND MANY OTHER AMERICAN LEADERS HAVE UNDERLINED THE HISTORIC AND MORAL COMMITMENT THAT WE HAVE TO THE SURVIVAL AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL.

30. AT THE SAME TIME WE HAVE IMPORTANT INTERESTS IN THE ARAB WORLD WITH ITS 150MILLION PEOPLE AND THW WORLD'S LARGEST OIL RESERVES.

31. WE REALIZE THAT THE WORLD'S HOPES, AND OUR OWN, FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND PROGRESS, FOR PEACE AND STABILITY, COULD BE SHATTERED BY ANOTHER UPHEAVAL IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE REALIZE THAT WE COULD FACE THE DANGERS OF A DIRECT U.S.-SOVIET CONFRONTATION, WITH ITS ATTENDANT NUCLEAR RISK, IF TENSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST SHOULD INCREASE.

32. THE OCTOBER WAR OF 1973 WAS COSTLY AND PAINFUL TO YOU, OUR ISRAELI FRIENDS--BOTH IN MATERIAL AND HUMAN TERMS. THE OCTOBER WAR ALSO BROUGHT HOME TO EVERY AMERICAN, IN DIFFERENCT BUT SIGNIFICANT WAYS THE PRICE WE PAY FOR CONTINUED ARAB --ISRAELI CONFLICT. THE OIL EMBARGO TRIGGERED BY THAT WAR COST US 500,00 OJOBS, MORE THAN 10 BILLION DOLLARS IN NATIONAL PRODUCTION,AND A RAMPANT INFLATION.

THE 1973 CRISIS PUT OUR ALLIANCES WITH WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN UNDER STRAIN. AND IT BROUGHT US TO THE VERGE OF A CONFRONTATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION REQUIRING US TO PLACE OUR MILITARY FORCES ON GLOBAL ALERT.

33. CONTINUED TENSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS IN THE INTEREST OF NO ONE. IT CAN LEAD TO RENEWED CONFLICT WITH RENEWED PAIN AND SUFFERING FOR ALL THE PEOPLES IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD.

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SS-15 SSO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00

PRS-01 INR-07 INRE-00 EUR-12 /051 W

----- 109518

O 031300Z NOV 75 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8806

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34. THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO
BRING A JUST, DURABLE AND COMPREHENSIVE PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST.
IN OUR VIEW--AND IN YOURS AS WELL--THE SINAI AGREEMENT IS A
SIGNIFICANT STEP TOWARD RELIEVING TENSION IN THIS AREA. BUT WE
DO NOT REGARD SINAI II AS AN END IN ITSELF; IT IS RATHER A
FURTHER IMPORTANT STEP IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION; IT GIVES
IMPORTANT IMPETUS TO THAT PROCESS, AND THAT PROCESS MUST GO ON IF
WE ARE TO AVOID STAGNATION WHICH COULD BE DANGEROUS FOR ALL OF US.

35. THAT PROCESS--FOR YOU AND FOR US--IS NEVER SIMPLE AND EASY.

36. SINCE I HAVE BEEN HERE, I HAVE SPOKEN PRIVATELY WITH MANY OF YOUR
CITIZENS AND WITH A NUMBER OF YOUR JOURNALISTS--AT THEIR REQUEST.
ALMOST INvariably I HAVE BEEN ASKED: "WHAT'S NEXT? WILL THERE BE A
CONTINUATION OF STEP-BY-STEP NEGOTIATIONS TO FUTURE SETTLEMENTS;"

37. MY ANSWER HAS BEEN: I DO NOT KNOW. BUT I HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT
WE ARE PREPARED TO DO ANYTHING THAT WILL ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE I
N
THIS TROUBLED PART OF THE WORLD.

38. IF WE CAN MOVE TOWARD THIS GOAL BY FURTHER STEP-BY-STEP
NEGOTIATIONS, THEN WE SHOULD DO SO, TAKING CALCULATED RISKS IF
NECESSARY. WE HAVE SAID PUBLICLY THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO DO WHAT
WE CAN TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER--SYRIA AND ISRAEL, OR PERHAPS OT
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HER
CONFRONTATION STATES INTHIS AREA--IN A NEGOTIATING PROCESS IF THIS
SHOULD BE THEIR DESIRE.

39. IF THIS COURSE SHOULD NOT PROVE POSSIBLE, THEN WE WILL HAVE TO
SEEK OTHER AVENUES TOWARD THIS BROAD GOAL OF MOVING TOWARDS PEACE
IN THIS REGION.

40. SECRETARY KISSINGER MENTIONED TWO POSSIBILITIES IN HIS
SPEECH AT THE UNITED NATIONS.

41. ONE POSSIBILITY IS A RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

ANOTHER IS AN INFORMAL MEETING OF STATES WHICH ARE CONCERNED WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA--AS SUGGESTED BY OUR SECRETARY OF STATE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. WHETHER THIS IS A FEASIBLE ROUTE DEPENDS ON THE ATTITUDES OF THE STATES CONCERNED. YOUR ATTITUDE--AS EXPRESSED BY YOUR FOREIGN MINISTER, YIGAL ALLON, IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY--WAS POSITIVE. OTHER PUBLIC EXPRESSED ATTITUDES HAVE BEEN LESS ENCOURAGING.

42. BUT THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT WE CONTINUE TO TRY TO MOVE FORWARD. WE MUST BE FLEXIBLE AND IMAGINATIVE--EVEN IF THE OTHER SIDE SEEMS RIGID AND CONSERVATIVE. WE MUST TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE--EVEN IF OTHERS SEEM UNWILLING TO DO SO. IN SUM, WE MUST DO WHAT WE CAN TO DEFUSE THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST--TO ENSURE THAT DETENT E IS APPLIED HERE AS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.

43. BUT AN EASING OF TENSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST WILL NOT MEAN THAT ON E SIDE MAY NOT TRY TO TAKE ADVANTAGES OF OPPORTUNITIES. DETENTE WILL NOT MEAN AN END TO VIGILANCE. DETENTE, FOR A LONG TIME TO COME, PROBABLY WILL NOT MEAN ANY EASING OF DEFENSE BURDENS.

44. BUT DETENTE SHOULD MEAN A LESSENING OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CLIMATE OF FEAR AND HATE. DETENTE SHOULD REDUCE THE RISKS OF DANGEROUS CONFRONTATION.

45. PEACE MAY BE FAR OFF. BUT IF A PEACEFUL WORLD IS THE WORLD WE SEEK, WE MUST BE RELENTLESS IN OUR SEARCH FOR WAYS TO BRING PEACE AND STABILITY TO THOSE AREAS OF THE WORLD WHERE EMOTIONS ARE HIGH, UNCLASSIFIED

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WHERE THE DANGERS OF CONFRONTATION ARE GREAT, AND WHERE AT TIMES THE PROBLEMS SEEM INTRACTABLE. I AM CONFIDENT YOU AND WE HAVE THE COURAGE AND WISDOM TO FACT THIS TASK; LET US HOPE OTHERS WITH EQUALY HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD WILL AS WELL. END TEXT.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, FOREIGN RELATIONS, SPEECHES, AMBASSADORS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 NOV 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975TELAV06938
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750380-1161
From: TEL AVIV
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751182/aaaacwbtm.tel
Line Count: 372
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 DEC 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 DEC 2003 by ReddocGW>; APPROVED <29 JAN 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PROPOSED TEXT OF AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH TO TEL AVIV ROTARY CLUB
TAGS: PFOR, IS, US, (TOON)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006